

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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C O N F I D E N T I A L KIGALI 193

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, RW

SUBJECT: RWANDA AND ANGOLA AFTERMATH

REF: STATE 38734, 54197, AND 41381

1. BEGIN SUMMARY RWANDA ADJUSTS PUBLICLY TO MPLA AND CUBAN/
SOVIET PRESENCE, BUT EMB BELIEVES RESIDUAL GOR CONCERN REMAINS.
RECENT USG STATEMENTS ON RHODESIA AND OPPOSITION FURTHER CUBAN
MILITARY EFFORTS USEFUL, BUT NEED BE BUTTRESSED BY VISIBLE
CONCRETE STEPS -- PRESUMABLY IN ZAIRE/ZAMBIA AID FIELD. END
SUMMARY

2. USG VIEWS - AMB CALLED ON RWANDAN FONMIN NSEKALIJE MARCH
12 IN FIRST MEETING SINCE RETURNED FROM DEPT CONSULTA-
TIONS. AMB OUTLINED USG VIEWS ON ANGOLA AS PER REFTELS AND
SECRETARY'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS. AMB PLACED PARTICULAR STRESS ON
(A) USG NOT OPPOSED MPLA PER SE AND WILL BE "OPEN-MINDED",
(B) TEST IS CONTINUED SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE ANGOLA,
(C) HOPE MPLA WILL SEEK BROAD RECONCILIATION IN PART TO
OBVIATE PRETEXT FOR CUBAN TROOPS, (D) HOPE INTERESTED AFRICAN
STATES CAN BRING ABOUT WITHDRAWAL FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE
ANGOLA AND (E) USG GIVING SERIOUS CONCERN TO INCREASED MILITARY,
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ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SUPPORT ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA. AMB ALSO

NOTED US "UNDERSTOOD" GOR RECOGNITION MPLA IN VIEW CHANGED MILITARY AND OAU SITUATIONS. AMB ALSO DELIVERED TRANSLATION SECRETARY'S REMARKS MARCH 4 BEFORE HIRC CONCERNING ANY FURTHER CUBAN MILITARY ACTIONS IN AFRICA.

3. FONMIN RESPONSE - FONMIN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION USG VIEWS PARTICULARLY AS USSR AMB HAD RECENTLY VISITED HIM AND OUTLINED SOVIET POSITION WHICH FONMIN CHARACTERIZED AS "NOT AS INFLEXIBLE AS HAD BEEN THOUGHT PARTICULARLY ON RE-ESTABLISHING NATIONAL UNITY ANGOLA." ON MPLA RECOGNITION, HE IMPLIED MAJOR FACTOR IN GOR REVERSAL WAS AWARENESS ZAIRE COULD NOT CONTINUE IMPLACABLE STANCE. HE NOTED GOR SOUGHT AND RECEIVED IN ADVANCE TACIT GOZ UNDERSTANDING. GOR ALSO HAD REASON BELIEVE ZAMBIA MOVING TO SIMILAR RAPPROCHEMENT WITH MPLA. ON CUBAN TROOPS, FONMIN TOOK LINE RECOGNITION MPLA AS ANGOLA GOVERNMENT BY OAU AND GOR HAD AUTOMATICALLY CONVERTED CUBANS FROM "MERCENARIES" TO "LEGITIMATE MILITARY ASSISTANCE THE SAME AS BELGIAN, FRENCH, US OR ANYBODY ELSE." HE ALSO IMPLIED CUBAN PRESENCE COULD BE POSITIVE IN PLACING ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON RHODESIA AND SAG. (KEY GOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISER IN PRESIDENCY MADE SIMILAR COMMENT RECENTLY, BUT ALLOWED THAT GOR WOULD BE "CONCERNED" AT ANY ACTUAL MILITARY CONTACT AT, FOR EXAMPLE, NWOUKIAN BORDER.)

4. FONMIN PRESS CONFERENCE - FONMIN GAVE PRESS CONFERENCE MARCH 8 TO RADIO RWANDA UNPRECEDENTED IN (A) LENGTH - TWO HOURS - AND (B) CHALLENGING NATURE OF QUESTIONS. NEARLY A QUARTER WAS DEVOTED TO ANGOLA IN WHICH FONMIN DEFENDED THESIS OF LEGALIZED NATURE CUBAN TROOPS ANGOLA NOTING THAT WHETHER

THEY WERE "IMPOSED" WAS MATTER FOR ANGOLAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE. ADDITIONAL ANGOLAN TOPICS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) US CREDIBILITY

Q. "WHAT IS US CREDIBILITY WHEN ONE REMEMBERS ANGOLA AS WELL AS THE VIETNAM WAR?"

A. "CERTAIN QUARTER BELIEVE THAT THE US ABANDONS ITS ATLIES. THESE PERSONS CITE THE FACTS OF INDO-CHINA AND RECENTLY ANGOLA. GOR DOES NOT JUDGE IT OPPORTUNE TO JUDGE THE MOTIVATIONS WHICH TILT THE BALANCES OF CONFIDENTIAL

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GREAT POWER JUDGMENTS. THE GOR IS CONCERNED THAT DIALOGUES BE PURSUED IN THE WORLD AND IN AFRICA TO OVERCOME CONFRONTATIONS AND SEEK SOLUTIONS WHICH

CONVERGE TOWARD PEACE RATHER THAN CONFLICT. IT IS IN THAT SENSE THAT GOR WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO JUDGE THE DEEP CONSIDERATIONS WHICH MAY HAVE PUSHED THE AMERICANS AND RUSSIANS TO TAKE THE POSITIONS THEY TOOK."

(B) USE OF MILITARY FORCE TO DETERMINE ANGOLAN OUTCOME
REVIEWED LONG HISTORY OF EFFORTS IN AND OUTSIDE OAU (INCLUDING
PORTUGAL AND GOK KENYATTA) TO RECONCILE VARIOUS ANGOLAN
FACTIONS. "MILITARY SOLUTION WAS NOT WHAT WE HAD HOPED BUT
ALL THAT WAS LEFT" AND "WE HAVE TO FACE FACTS AS THEY EXIST."
"WE NOW HOPE RECONCILIATION CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT FROM WITHIN
ANGOLA IN ITS OWN INTERESTS PLUS THOSE OF ITS NEIGHBORS,
AFRICA AND THE WORLD."

(C) CUBAN MILITARY THREAT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA - RUSSIAN AND
CUBAN PRESENCE ANGOLA HAVE AIDED AFRICAN LIBERATION BY FACT
THAT "ANGOLA IS WHAT IT IS." "NEW INFO WE'RE RECEIVING ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY RHODESIA, AUGURS IMPORTANT
CHANGES WITH IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION."
"I BELIEVE THE THREAT REFERRED TO (POSSIBILITY OF SAG MILITARY
REACTION) WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE DANGEROUS IF THE RESULTS
OBTAINED IN ANGOLA HAD NOT BEEN WHAT THEY ARE." "IF CUBAN
AND SWAPO EFFORT DIRECTED TOWARD NAMIBIA, THE LIBERATION
STRUGGLE WOULD BE REINFORMED IN A POSSIBLY DETERMINANT MANNER."

5. COMMENT - FONMIN COMMENTS AND PRESS CONFERENCE REPRESENT
GOR EFFORT TO ACCOMMODATE PUBLICLY TO WHAT IT SEES AS "NEW
FACTS." I BELIEVE THERE IS MORE REEIDUAL GOR CONCERN OVER
CUBAN PRESENCE THAN WOULD APPEAR FROM FONMIN COMMENTS.
SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS ON AID TO ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA PLUS
"INTOLERANCE" TO FURTHER CUBAN INTERVENTION ARE THUS SALUTARY.
HOWEVER, SUCH REASSURANCES NEED BE BUTTRESSED BY SOME VISIBLE
CONCRETE EFFORT--PRESUMABLY IN ZAIRE-ZAMBIA AID FIELD.

6. APPOINTMENT WITH PRES HABYARIMANA IS PENDING. FRITTS

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